

Message Text

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, XM

SUBJECT: LATIN AMERICAN AND THE FUTURE OF THE DIALOGUE

1. PURSUANT TO YOUR SUGGESTIONS THAT I GIVE YOU MY PERSONAL VIEW ON THE FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICAN IN PREPARATION FOR THE SECRETARY'S TRIP, I OFFER THE FOLLOWING IDEAS:

2. WHAT DO WE WANT FROM LATIN AMERICA? NOTHING MORE AND NOTHING LESS THAN WHAT WE WANT FROM OTHER COUNTRIES ALL OVER THE WORLD WITH WHOM WE MAINTAIN FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIPS. WE WANT NONDISCRIMINATORY ACCESS TO LATIN AMERICA'S RAW MATERIALS AND MARKETS, FAIR TREATMENT OF LEGITIMATE US COMMERCIAL INTERESTS AND SUPPORT ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US - PUBLIC SUPPORT (PRIVATE ASSURANCES OF UNDYING LOVE - WHILE MAINTAINING PUBLICLY A HOSTILE STANCE - ARE WORTHLESS). THE CONCEPT OF A QTE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP UNQTE WITH LATIN AMERICA IS AS ANTIQUATED IN TODAY'S GLOBAL CONTEXT AS IS THE MONREO DOCTRINE. NO LONGER ARE WE AND THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES FLEDGLING REPUBLICS WITH A COMMON BOND IN OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST EUROPEAN MONARCHIES.

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THE SECURITY NEEDS WHICH LOOMED LARGE DURING WORLD

WAR II HAVE RECEDED, ESPECIALLY BY COMPARISON TO OTHER AREAS. WE HAVE NO JOINT CULTURAL HERITAGE AND OUR STANDARDS AND WAYS OF LIFE ARE DISSIMILAR. THE QTE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP UNQTE BASED ON GEOGRAPHY IS NONSENSE. THE HEMISPHERE WHICH MATTERS MOST TO US IS THE NORTHERN HEMISPHERE AND OUR MAJOR PREOCCUPATIONS ARE EAST AND WEST OF WASHINGTON. OUR INTERESTS IN LATIN AMERICA, WHILE GREAT, ARE NO DIFFERENT FROM OUR INTERESTS ELSEWHERE AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOT TAKEN IN BY THE MYTH OF A QTE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP UNQTE AND ARE LARGELY DISINTERESTED. THIS IS REFLECTED IN CONGRESS AND ANY ADMINISTRATION SEEKING TO PROMOTE POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR A QTE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP UNQTE WITH LATIN AMERICA WILL BE DISAPPOINTED AND IN TURN WILL DISAPPOINT THE LATIN AMERICANS.

3. WHAT DO THEY WANT FROM US? CONDITIONED BY THE MYTH OF A QTE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP UNQTE WHICH WE SO ASSIDULOUSLY ADVANCED, THE LATIN AMERICANS HAVE BEEN PROGRAMMED BY US FOR 150 YEARS TO BELIEVE THEY OCCUPY BY RIGHTS A PRIVILEGED POSITION AND DESERVE SPECIAL PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT ACROSS THE BOARD WITHOUT ANY COMPENSATING RESPONSIBILITY ON THEIR PART. JUST LIKE ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD, WE CAN WORK OUT OUR PROBLEMS WITH INDIVIDUAL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES THROUGH NORMAL BILATERAL CHANNELS AND ENJOY EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH SOME, NORMAL RELATIONS WITH MOST, AND POOR RELATIONS WITH A FEW. IN A MULTILATERAL FORUM, HOWEVER, THE STAGE IS SET FOR A QTE US VS THEM UNQTE CONFRONTATION AND INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES TRY TO OUTDO EACH OTHER IN ANTI-US DIATRIBES AS A MEANS OF ADVANCING THEIR CLAIM TO COLLECTIVE LATIN LEADERSHIP. REGARDLESS OF INDIVIDUAL MOTIVATIONS, WHAT UNITES THE LATINS TURNS OUT TO BE THE COMMON DENOMINATOR OF DEMANDS ON THE US.

4. THE FUTURE OF THE DIALOGUE. BURDENED WITH THE HISTORIC MISCONCEPTION OF A QTE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP UNQTE THE LATINS EAGERLY AGREED TO A NEW DIALOGUE IN 1973 EXPECTING THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER WOULD AND COULD

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DELIVER TO THEM THE PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT PAST ADMINISTRATIONS HAD PROMISED. WHEN IT TURNED OUT THAT IT IS SIMPLY NOT POSSIBLE TO HAVE THIS RELATIONSHIP WITHOUT PUBLIC SUPPORT AND THAT NEITHER CONGRESS NOR OTHER US AGENCIES RECOGNIZED THE QTE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP UNQTE, THE DIALOGUE HAD TO FAIL. BY THE SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO FIVE INDIVIDUAL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, THE US WILL BE SIGNALLING

THAT IT IS DISCREETLY DROPPING THE DIALOGUE AND
EMBARKING ON BILATERAL TALKS. THIS IS THE RIGHT
ROAD FOR THE FUTURE AND FROM NOW ON WE SHOULD CON-
CENTRATE ON BILATERAL RELATIONS. WE SHOULD PROCEED
IN THE DEFENSE OF OUR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS WITH THE
SAME BIGOR, SELF-RESPECT AND SELF-CONFIDENCE WE EMPLOY
ELSEWHERE ON EARTH. WE MUST RECOGNIZE ONCE AND FOR ALL
THAT THE LATIN AMERICANS AS A GROUP NO LONGER HAVE A
SPECIAL CLAIM ON US. IF THIS MEANS A PASSIVE ROLE FOR
US AT THE OAS, SO BE IT. AT LEAST WE WILL BE DEALING
WITH REAL ISSUES IN OUR RELATIONS WITH INDIVIDUAL
STATES AND NOT BE WASTING OUR TIME IN THE PURSUIT OF
A VANISHED AND NO LONGER VALID IDEAL.

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